628 There were ordinarily no persons who could command the
701 allegiance of the tribe as a whole, nor was there any status with authority to effect the settlement of disputes between different subgroups or their individual members. Sometimes persistent
166 intratribal conflicts led to short-term migration or to a splinter-group's secession from the tribe. However, these disturbances were very minor in comparison with the 'flight, dispersal and migration' in general resulting from incessant intertribal[1] feuds (see p.35).A

701 Kinship and local affiliation together were the basic principles by which subgroups of the raiding party seem to have been drawn up during attack and on which leaders[2] within the party based their rights to command specific combatants.

721 Retaliation was as important a motive for isoro as was indivi-
728 dual and group prestige. It was 'rare if not impossible' for tribes to settle hostilities amicably by compensation, exchange of hostages or other means (Williams 1930:166, 170 ff., 311 ff.).

721 Conquering groups operating from within their established territorial frontiers seem seldom to have set out with the express aim of acquiring new land for settlement or even to have used the vacated land when they forced their enemies to withdraw.[3] Nevertheless, the Aiga people (mostly the Timbariundi, i.e., wanderers), for instance, are known to have migrated to their present territory by expelling another tribe and settling on their land.

The high value of the land on the volcanic slopes occupied by the people called 'Periho' and 'Wasida' (by Plant and Williams,

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1 'Intertribal', 'interclan', etc., are terms which we apply to relationships between any - i.e., not necessarily all - representatives of the units in question.

2 In the course of a raid, some of these leaders would assume the role of isoro ambo jigari, a man who should rally the slowest of his company in attack and protect the stragglers during withdrawal; the other class of leader was known as isoro kiti jigari, that is, a warrior who ordinarily directs raiding groups from in front and takes the initiative in tactical decisions. Kiti jigari is sometimes a term for leaders in ordinary village activities (kiti, the first, foremost; jigari, one who directs and controls an enterprise); cf. pp.51-3. See also Williams (W.23) who was told that in pre-contact times a renowned member of Sarahu clan would lead from behind in attacks by men of the Jegasi-Sarahu villages (of the 'Wasida' tribe).

3 As the Sangara did to the Divinikovari, for instance (Williams 0.12).

A.[See Category 721, p. 35--Analyst]

621 possession of its own tracts of land' (1928:125). In view of the
614 uncertainties regarding attributes which, we have noted, Williams associates with the 'clan', we can not readily say whether our discussion in the following sections confirms or contradicts this statement on land tenure.

614 Fighting within the tribe (embore), though frequent,[1] was
578 governed by restrictive conventions absent from the conduct of deliberate raids (isoro). Organized aggression was rare and the
[721] deliberate destruction and homicide characteristic of the tribal raid were absent from the skirmishes which arose periodically in the course of ordinary interclan relationships. Disagreement over rights to land in the neighbourhood was one of a number of causes of interclan hostilities (see Williams 1930:107, 163). But we found no evidence from the area discussed in this report to indicate that land disputes between members of different clans
[721] involved the mobilization of their descent groups. Informants firmly denied that people would resort to attacking neighbours from another clan in order to acquire land.

[728] In presenting a picture of continuous feuding between local kin groups within the tribe, Keesing (1951:6) quotes Williams out of context: Williams (1930:311; and 160-7) was referring to the ineffectiveness of intertribal truces not to instability of peaceful relationships between these smaller groups when he says that no village lived in permanent security for fear of raids from its neighbours. The tribe lacked close political cohesion but relations between local groups within it do not seem to have been as precarious as Keesing describes. As Plant (1951: Appendix 3) indicates, a network of affiliations between descent groups in widely scattered areas formerly ensured generaly peaceful relations within the tribe.

614 The frequency with which fragments of one clan are found scattered in 3 or more districts of the tribe suggests that here
701 Langness' discussion of the Highlands (Watson, ed. 1964:174) may
[182] be relevant when he points to the probability of a causal connection between continuous violent warfare and the weakly patrilineal structure of groups,[2] in view of the fact that most warring groups needed continually to replace losses in numerical strength by recruiting outsiders; they would repeatedly scatter, regroup, take refuge or attach themselves permanently to stronger groups for

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[1] In fact, Williams (W.37) records that members of Jegase clan once fought some of the Sarahu, even though the names of the 2 clans were linked as the name of the political unit which he defined (see p.34).

[2] See sections c-f of this chapter.

614 safety. Plant for instance (1951:3) notes that the Isivita
701 villages, strategically situated on a ridge, would occasionally give refuge to fellow tribesmen though not every district would usually have recourse to join the Isivita.

619 Williams ascribes the formation of 'somewhat loose' and
614 temporary 'confederacies of clans', which conducted raids upon
701 the tribe's kitoho, to a local spirit. But it is not clear whether by this he means the identification of members of a tribe with one territory or the unity of the 'locality group' which usually takes in a number of 'clan-village units' (see p.34) and which he describes as a more restricted 'sympathy-group' than the tribe (1930:107, 157, 163, 309-12). When he states (1925:407) that 'over and above clan patriarchs there are recognised leaders of small clan confederacies and even - in war-time - of tribes', he seems to equate the tribe with the district among the mountain Orokaiva (in particular Wasida and Isivita; see W.23, 124).[1]

634 However, neither the district nor any other local grouping among the mountain Orokaiva was an independent political unit. The territory of this tribe was not so compact as to call for (or even to enable) all its constituent local groups to give continuous mutual support in protecting the integrity of the area they occupied. Nevertheless members of discrete local groups continually formed ad hoc alliances across district boundaries. It is clear that the regular chains of alliances encompassed a wider area than usually described as the tribe (whether Jegasi-Sarahu, Wasida or Periho).

721 The usual stratagem of the isoro was the surprise attack on 1 or 2 selected villages. In these circumstances the victims were able to summon only immediate neighbours to help ward off the attackers and proximity was at least one of the common principles by which specific villages combined in retaliatory raids.

621 An indication that within this tribe the named local groups of
361 villages were territorially distinct units is Belshaw's statement that the population was divided into 'hamlet groups' like Awala 2,

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721 [1] There is some doubt whether the evidence in these cases shows that there was even a military leadership in the district (and war is said to have been almost perpetual). The title of the former leader of Isivita (who had not been replaced) is given as embo javoari and the literal meaning is given (1930:104) as 'the man who gives the name' (cf. embo javo vahai, Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), i.e., the deceased eponymous ancestor of one clan. The last renowned war-leader among the Wasida may have been the embo peni (javo), lit. man-big (-name), of a group no larger than a village or clan (see 1925:417; W.23).

each separated geographically from its neighbours.[1] There is also Williams' point (W.28) that in 1923 there was unclaimed land adjoining the 'hamlets' in the unit named Wasida (i.e., Jegasi-Sarahu). Like most other districts this consisted of two 'hamlet groups'. Norton (1962:6) says that sometimes villages, which 'are known to have been quite large' and stockaded (cf. Williams 1930:67, 164-6), were separated by tracts of unclaimed virgin land until the time of the suppression of feuding.

This combination for better defence may have been characteristic of tribes throughout the Orokaiva area. We believe, however, that the subdividing of the tribe into discrete named groups of named villages (either district or 'hamlet group') would be unique to the mountain Orokaiva in the culture area; we do not have enough evidence to show if this feature is related to the earlier clustering for safety, and to the greater population density in this tribe.

The emergence of tribal subdivisions at this level, however limited or occasional their independence, seems consistent with the uncertainties encountered by observers in seeking to determine the limits, the local name and the distinctive cultural and linguistic characteristics of the inclusive political unit.[2]

At this point we shall identify the local patrilineal groups to be mentioned in the following resumé of the history of local settlement and then make a preliminary comment on landholding by individuals.

The members of Jegase clan in Sivepe are divided among 4 named subgroups, each claiming to trace its origins to either of 2 contiguous villages occupied by all the ancestors of the Jegase in the neighbourhood. We shall call these subgroups lineages; they are Bebehupa,[3] Sesewopa, Berekipa and Arehu. A fifth lineage called Hambai or Hambai'embo has died out only in the present generation, yet all but the key members of the group and a little

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[1] Seldom does the territory of a 'district' at present clearly appear distinct from others, and that of a 'hamlet group' even more rarely.

[2] Either 'parish' or 'subtribe' could be considered as a term for such a unit within the tribe. But rather than add to the confusion of terms used in descriptions of local organization we retain the terms which we have already adopted.

[3] The suffix -pa (or -ja, female) should strictly be used in addressing or referring to an individual member, but it now seems to be common local usage to refer to a group itself in this way, and we shall follow this usage.

361 The new village sites also reduced walking time to the gardens.

618 722 The war of 1939-1945 affected the Yega in several important ways. Their territory became one of the major battlefields of the Pacific War. Every person migrated from the area with the exception of one old crippled woman who somehow managed to survive for eighteen months in the bush. Almost all able-bodied men served in the army or labour corps and the women and children lived at another Anglican mission about thirty miles to the north. When they returned, they found all buildings, and any belongings that they had left behind, destroyed and most of their coconut palms cut down or damaged by gunfire. There were some compensations. The Australian Government paid thousands of dollars in war-damage compensation for all trees and property but, more important, the stimulus of travel, and meeting and working with Australian and American soldiers, gave the younger men in particular a broader view of life which triggered off changes in their traditional economy. In addition, the transfer of the Administrative headquarters from Buna to Higaturu resulted in the construction of a major road to the port of Cape Killerton and brought the Yega into closer touch with the outside world than ever before. As a result, between 1945 and 1950, about twenty families left their re-built villages and moved east to found the new village of Surilai at Cape Killerton (Fig. 9). Men living at Surilai have since found regular employment on the Government wharf at Cape Killerton.

618 701 722 727 729 659 199 179 491 361 166 [464]

178 433 464 466 Major post-war changes in the Yega economy have resulted from their attempts to increase their cash earnings. Before the war many men worked as indentured labourers on plantations or on the wharves at Port Moresby

[P. 13-A] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14-B]